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Miller

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NEW YORK

CONSIDERED AND IMPROVED.

ANNO DOMINI 1695.

A DESCRIPTION
OF
THE PROVINCE AND CITY
OF
NEW YORK ;
WITH
PLANS OF THE CITY AND SEVERAL FORTS
AS THEY EXISTED IN THE YEAR 1695.

BY THE
REV. JOHN MILLER.
✕

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

**(To which is added, a Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Books
relating to America, on sale by the Publisher.)**

THOMAS RODD,
No. 9, GREAT NEWPORT STREET, LONDON.

27

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MDCCCXLIII.

1st m. w.

✕



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following description of New York, as it existed a century and a half since, fell into the hands of the publisher on the dispersion of the library of the late George Chalmers, Esq.

As it contains some curious particulars respecting the state of society in the province at that time, and is, moreover, of particular local interest, as giving plans of the town and the several forts in the province, the publisher thought he would be rendering an acceptable service to those persons who take an interest in tracing the rise and growth of the great commercial emporium of the Western world by causing a few copies to be printed, and thus preserving it from the chance of being lost or destroyed.

The orthography has been modernized, the pointing amended, and a few words, obviously necessary to complete the sense, have been inserted between brackets.

The author appears to use some peculiar arithmetical notation consisting in the employment of a superfluous number of cipher as page 5, line 4, where 300 and 303 are printed for 30 and 33 and page 14, where 64000 is used for 64: these are retained, but his obvious meaning is indicated to the reader by inserting the true numbers within a parenthesis.

It may be further necessary to add, that the author uniformly uses Canida instead of Canada: this has been changed to the present usage. All other proper names are given as in the manuscript.

*To the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry,
Lord Bishop of London.*

MY LORD.

AFTER having been very near three years resident in the province of New York, in America, as Chaplain to his Majesty's forces there, and by living in the Fort of New York, and constantly attending the Governor, had the opportunity of observing many things of considerable consequence in relation to the Christians and Indians, inhabitants thereof, or bordering thereon, and also taken the draughts of all the cities, towns, forts and churches of any note within the same, with particular accounts of the number of our Indians, the strength of Canada, and way thither, and several other matters which would have enabled me to give an exact account of the present estate of that province and the methods proper to be used for the correcting certain evils therein, and advantaging thereof, principally as to religious affairs,—I was (obliged so to do by several weighty motives, especially those of my private concerns) returning home with them in July last, when being met and set upon by a French privateer and made his prisoner, I was obliged to cause them all to be thrown overboard, lest I should have given intelligence to an enemy to the ruine of the province, instead of a friendly information to the advantaging thereof. But having had time by my long imprisonment, and leisure also sufficient, I thought I could not better employ them than by endeavouring to retrieve

some part of what I had lost, and put it in such a method as might testify the earnest desire I have to promote the glory of God, the service of my sovereign, and the benefit of my country. What I have been able to do through God's assistance, the help of my memory, and certain knowledge I had of things, your Lordship will find in the following sheets; which, however weak and imperfect, as it must needs be, I humbly present to your Lordship as an evidence of my duty and gratitude; submitting it to your wise inspection and serious consideration, either to be further improved if it seem proper for the end it is designed, or rejected if it be unworthy of any respect. Intreating your Lordship to pardon what faults and blemishes shall be found therein, and heartily praying that the Giver of all good things would bless your Lordship with health, and prosperity and success in all your affairs, I make bold in all duty to subscribe myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

And humble servant,

JOHN MILLER.

NEW YORK CONSIDERED.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

THE province of New York is a country very pleasant and delightful, and well improved for the time it has been settled and the number of its inhabitants. It lies in the latitudes of 40 and 41 and for the longitude is situated between the 300th and 303d (30th and 33d) degree north; is in breadth, where broadest, from the east to the west, about 200 miles, and in length, north and south, about 250, being bounded on the east by New England, on the west by New Jersey and the Indian country, on the north by the Indian country, and on the south by the ocean. It lies almost exactly in the middle of the English plantations, which altogether have of sea coast, more or less improved by the English, both eastward and westward, near 250 leagues. This province whereof I speak consists partly of islands and partly of the main land: the islands of greater consideration are three, New York Island, Staten Island, and Nassau (formerly Long) Island; the two former make, each of them, a county, the first of New York, the second of Richmond. On Nassau Island are three counties; for the western end is King's County, the middle Queen's County, and the eastern part Suffolk County: to these do belong several, other smaller islands, which, being at best but so many farms, are not worthy consideration. On the main land are likewise five counties, namely, West Chester, Orange, Dutchess, Ulster, and Albany, equal in number to, but not so well planted, improved, and peopled, as the former. The places of strength are chiefly three; the city of New York, the city of Albany, and the town of Kingstone, in Ulster.

The city of New York, more largely taken, is the whole island so called, and is in length sixteen miles, in breadth six, and in circumference forty-two; but more strictly considered, and as a place of

strength, is only the part thereof within the fortifications, and so is not in length or breadth above two furlongs, and in circumference a mile. The form of it is triangular, having for the sides thereof the west and north lines, and east and south for its arched basis. The chief place of strength it boasts of is its fort, situated on the south west angle, which is reasonably strong, and well provided with ammunition, having in it about thirty-eight guns. Mounted on the basis likewise, in convenient places, are three batteries of great guns; one of fifteen called Whitehall Battery, one of five by the Stadthouse, and the third of ten by the Burgher's Path. On the north-east angle is a strong blockhouse and half moon, wherein are six or seven guns: this part butts upon the river, and is all along fortified with a sufficient bank of earth. On the north side are two large stone points, and therein about eight guns, some mounted and some unmounted. On the north-west angle is a blockhouse, and on the west side two hornworks which are furnished with some guns, six or seven in number: this side butts upon Hudson's River; has a bank in some places twenty fathoms high from the water, by reason whereof, and a stockado strengthened with a bank of earth on the inside, which last is also on the north side to the landward, it is not easily assailable. As this city is the chief place of strength belonging to this province for its defence against those enemies who come by sea, so Albany is of principal consideration against those who come by land, the French and Indians of Canada. It is distant from New York 150 miles, and lies up Hudson's River on the west side, on the descent of a hill from the west to the eastward. It is in circumference about six furlongs, and hath therein about 200 houses, a fourth part of what there is reckoned to be in New York. The form of it is septangular, and the longest line that which butts upon the river running from the north to the south. On the west angle is the fort, quadrangular, strongly stockadoed and ditched round, having in it twenty-one pieces of ordnance mounted. On the north-west side are two blockhouses, as on the south-west as many: on the south-east angle stands blockhouse; in the middle of the line from thence northward horned work, and on the north-east angle a mount. The whole city is well stockadoed round, and in the several fortifications named are about thirty guns. Dependent on this city, and al

twenty miles distance to the northward from it, is the Fort of Scanectade, quadrangular, with a treble stockado, a new blockhouse at every angle, and in each blockhouse two great guns; and Nestigayuna, and the Half-moon; places, formerly of some account, but now deserted. On this city also depends the Fort at the Flats, four miles from Albany, belonging to the River Indians, who are about sixty families: it is stockadoed round, has a blockhouse and a mount, but no great guns. There are in it five Indian wigwams, and a house or two serving in case of necessity for the soldiers, in number twenty-four, who are the guard there. Kingstone is the chief town of Ulster County; lies on the west side of Hudson's River, but two miles distant from it, from New York eighty-six, and from Albany sixty-four miles: it is quadrangular, and stockadoed round, having small hornworks at convenient distances one from the other, and in proper places. It is in circumference near as big as Albany, but as to number of houses not above half so big: on the south side is a particular part separated by a stockado from the rest, and strengthened with a blockhouse and a hornwork wherein are about six guns.

The number of the inhabitants in this province are about 3000 families, whereof almost one-half are naturally Dutch, a great part English, and the rest French; which how they are seated, and what number of families of each nation, what churches, meeting houses, ministers or pretended ministers, there are in each county, may be best discerned by the table here inserted. As to their religion, they are very much divided; few of them intelligent and sincere, but the most part ignorant and conceited, fickle and regardless. As to their wealth and disposition thereto, the Dutch are rich and sparing; the English neither very rich, nor too great husbands; the French are poor, and therefore forced to be penurious. As to their way of trade and dealing, they are all generally cunning and crafty, but many of them not so just to their words as they should be.

The air of this province is very good, and much like that of the best parts of France; not very often foggy, nor yet cloudy or rainy for any long time together, but generally very clear and thin: the north-west winds frequently visit it, and chiefly in winter; nor does there want in the summer the southern breezes, which daily almost

rise about nine or ten in the morning, and continue till sunset. The weather is, indeed, hotter in summer than one would well wish it, and in winter colder than he can well endure it; but both heat and cold are in their seasons much abated by the wind last spoken of. The coldest wind is generally reckoned to be the north-west, and it is certainly very sharp and piercing, and causes most hard and severe frosts; but, in my judgment, the south-west exceeds it much, but the best of it is that it does not blow very often there from that quarter.

The air and winds being such as I have said, the country, consequently, should be very healthful, and this is certainly so; and I dare boldly affirm it to be, on that particular and most beneficial account, the best province his Majesty has in all America, and very agreeable to the constitution of his subjects, so that a sober Englishman may go into it, live there, and come out of it again, without any seasoning or other sickness caused merely by the country; nay, it is so far from causing, that, on the contrary, if a man be any thing consumptive, and not too far gone, 'tis ten to one but it will cure him; and if inclined to rheums or colds, will in a great part, if not wholly, free him from them.

If the air be good, the land is not bad, but, taking one place with another, very tolerable, yea, commendable: there are, 'tis true, many rocks and mountains, but, I believe, the goodness of their inside as to metals and minerals will, when searched, make amends for the barrenness of the outside: there are also many woods and bogs, or rather swamps; but few complain of them, because they afford them mast for their hogs and food for their breeding mares and cows, also, in the summer time, fur. Walnut, cedar, oak of several kinds, and many other sorts of wood proper for building of ships or houses, or necessary for fencing and fuel turpentine for physical uses, and pitch and tar for the seaman's service; many physical herbs, and much wild fowl, as swans geese, ducks, turkies, a kind of pheasants and partridges, pigeons, &c. and no less store of good venison, so that you may sometimes buy at your door a quarter for ninepence or a shilling. Hence also they have their furs, such as beaver, otter, fisher martin, musk-rat, bear-skin, &c. Indeed, the countenance of the is not so beautiful as some of our English writers would make

believe; nor would I prefer, in that respect, the wild Indian country before our English meadows and closes, much less our gardens when in their most flourishing estate, notwithstanding that there are here and there many herbs such and as good as those we have growing in our gardens to be found wild, as mint, sweet marjoram, &c.; and, in their season, strawberries and walnuts, and some other sorts of fruits, in great abundance, especially grapes, which I am persuaded, if well improved, would yield great quantities of strong and pleasant wine.

He that is not pleased with these advantages may, if he please to take a little pains in clearing the ground by stubbing up the trees and brushwood, have good arable land or pastures, that shall, instead of woods and their wild produce, afford him good corn and hay, and a reasonable number of fat cattle. Indeed, not all alike, for the land toward the south is generally a sandy soil, and not very fruitful, but rather something inclining to barrenness: the corn that it produces is small, oftentimes spoiled by blasts and mildews, or eaten (especially the white peas,) by the worms, but then it produces very good Indian corn or maize; pleasant fruits, as apples, peaches, melons of several sorts; good roots, as parsneps, turnips, carrots, and as good cabbages as need to be eaten: but to the northward, and in the Indian country, the land is much better; the soil, black and rich, brings forth corn in abundance, and that very firm, large, and good; and, besides all those fruits aforementioned (peaches excepted), cherries, pears, and currants.

Fish there is in great store, both in the sea and rivers; many of them of the same kinds as we have in England, and many strange and such as are not to be seen there; some even without name, except such as was given them from the order they were taken in, as first, second, third, &c. These are the produce of the country I speak of, and there are yet more than these peculiarly proper for the merchant, as train oil and whalebone, though in no very great quantity; and pipstaves, of which many thousands are yearly transported, with several other things, which, with some of those before-named, will admit of much improvement. The industry that now is used is but little: the few inhabitants, having a large country before them, care not for more than from hand to mouth, and therefore they take but little pains, and yet that little pro-

duces very good beer, bread, cider, wine of peaches, cloth stuff and beaver hats, a certain and sufficient sign how plentiful and beneficial a country it would be did but industrious art secure nature's bounty, and were but the inhabitants more in number than at present they are.

Merchandizing in this country is a good employment, English goods yielding in New York generally 100 per cent. advance above the first cost, and some of them 200, 300, yea sometimes 400: this makes so many in the city to follow it, that whosoever looks on their shops would wonder, where there are so many to sell, there should be any to buy.

This, joined to the healthfulness, pleasantness, and fruitfulness thereof, are great encouragements to people rather to seek the bettering of their fortunes here than elsewhere; so that it may be hoped that a little time will render the inhabitants more numerous than at present they are. Do men expect profit in what they carry with them to a foreign land?—they need not fear it here, if their goods but suit the country. Would they live in health?—no place more likely to live so in, in this part of America. Would they have plenty of necessaries for food and raiment?—New York, in these, is not unkind; but though a stepmother to those who come from England, yet furnishes them as plentifully, if equally industrious, as their natural country does those who stay behind. In short, there is nothing wanting to make the inhabitants thereof happy but some things which the country cannot help them in, nor yet is guilty of the want thereof, to which either themselves do contribute, or which their ill settlement, or worse government, has introduced, and some things which the few years of their being a province has not yet given any favourable opportunities for, nor permitted to be settled among them; which what they are I shall next proceed to discover and speak of in the best method and order that I can, and with as much brevity as the subject will conveniently admit of, after having first presented to the reader some draughts or ground plots of the most remarkable places already discoursed of, as you will perceive by considering these following figures:—

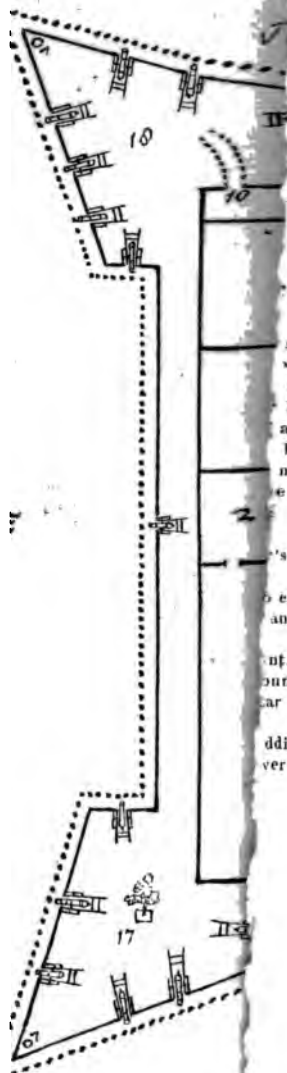
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Fig 2

102



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 2.

s house
 edgings
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 house
 and mount
 boxes
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dditional building to the governor's house
 ver the governor's kitchen.

Fig. 3.



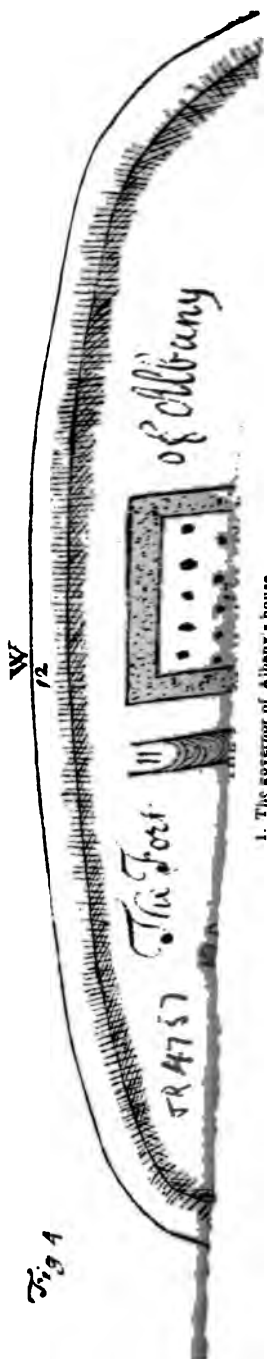
Albany

THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 3.

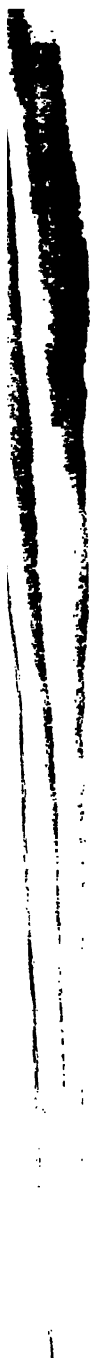
1. The fort of Albany
2. The Dutch Calvinist church
3. The Dutch Lutheran church
4. The burying place
5. The Dutch Calvinist burying place
6. The block houses
7. The stadthouse
8. A great gun to clear a gully
- 9, 10. The stockade
- 11, 12. The gates of the city, six in all.



Fig 1



1. The governor of Albany's house
2. The officer's lodgings
3. The soldier's lodgings
4. The flag-staff and mount
5. The magazine
6. The Dial mount
7. The Town mount
8. The well
9. The centry boxes
11. The Sally port
- 12, 13. the ditch fortified with stakes
- 13, 13. The gardens
14. The stockade
15. The fort gate.



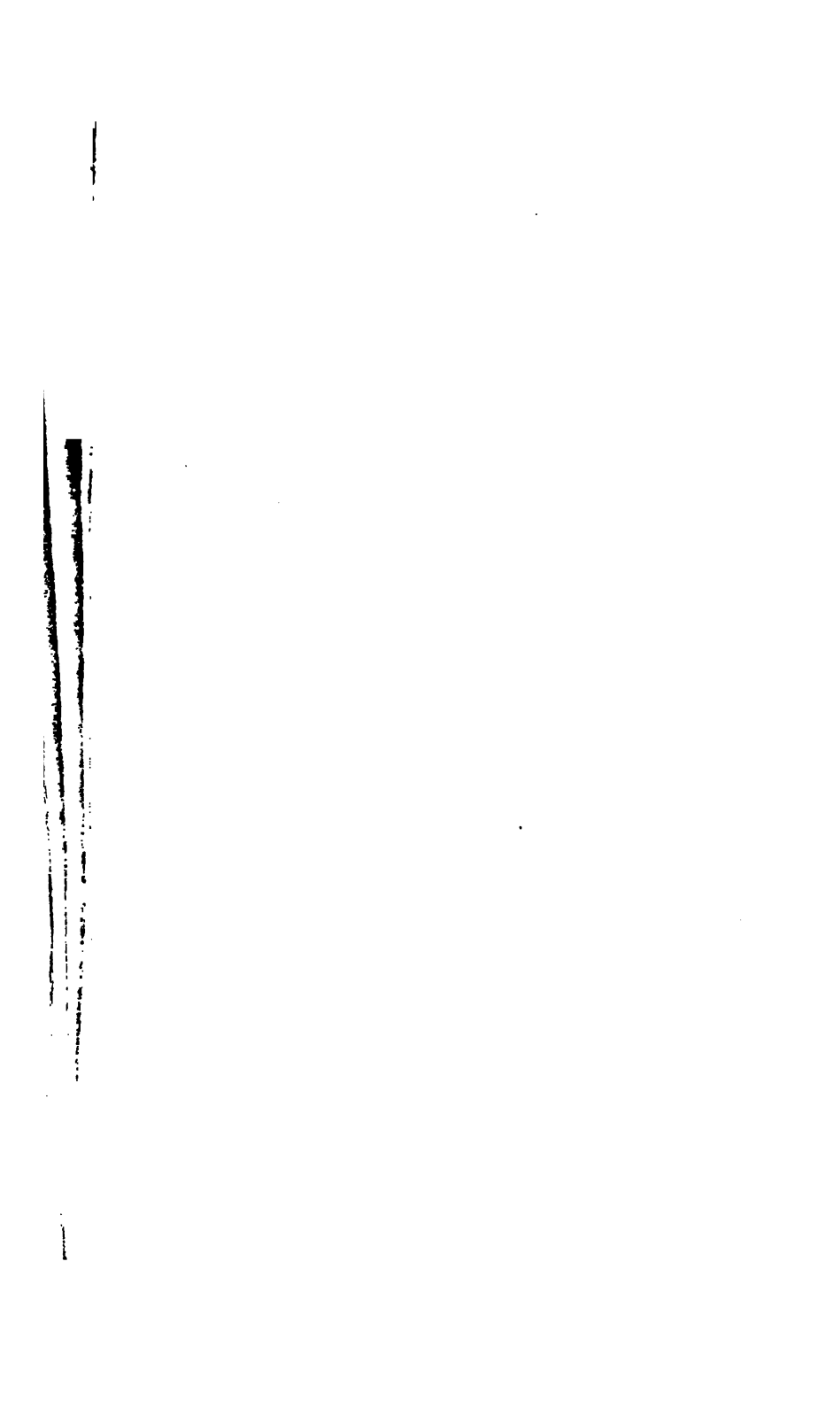
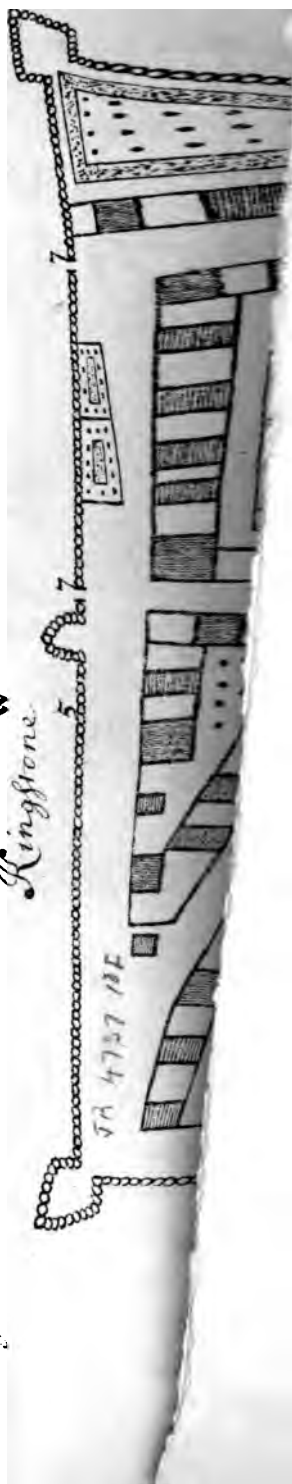


Fig. 7

W
Kingstone



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 7.

1. The blockhouse
2. The church and burying place
3. The minister's house
4. The part separated and fortified
5. The stockade
6. The house where the governor is entertained
7. 7. The town gates
8. 8. The gates to the separate fortified part.



map and list

NEW YORK IN 1695.

11

Counties.	Churches.	Ministers.	Families.
NEW YORK.	Chapel in the fort Dutch Calvinists Dutch Lutheran French Jews Synagogue Haarlem	Dr. Selinus Dr. Perot Saul Brown Dr. Selinus	90 450 30 200 20 25 English 40, Dissenters
RICHMOND.	A Meeting House	Dr. Bonrepos	English 40 Dutch 44 French 36
KING'S.	Flatbush Utretcht Brookland	Dr. Varick, died Aug. 1694, and another sent for May 27, 1695.	300 or 400, chiefly Dutch.
QUEEN'S.	Jamaica Hampsted } Meeting Newtown } Houses	Mr. Philips } without Mr. Vesey } any Mr. Mot } orders.	300 or 400 English, most Dissenters, and some Dutch.
SUFFOLK.	Eight or nine Meeting Houses; almost one at every town.	Seven Ministers, Dissenters, Presbyterian, or Independent. One lately gone to Scotland.	500 or 600 English, and Dissenters for the most part.
WEST CHESTER.	A Meeting House at West Chester.	A young man coming to settle there, without orders.	200 or 300, English and Dissenters; few Dutch.
ORANGE.			20, English and Dutch.
DUTCHESS.			30, English and Dutch.
ULSTER.	Dutch Calvinist, at Kingstone, for five or six towns.	A Minister to co- his books brought; but he missed his passage.	300, Dutch mostly; some English and French.
ALBANY.	Dutch Calvinist Dutch Lutheran Scanecthade Kinderhoeck.	Dr. Dellius. A Dutch Minister sent for.	400 or 500, Dutch, all Calvinists, except 12 or 14 Lutherans.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE EVILS AND INCONVENIENCES IN NEW YORK.

COME we now to consider those things which I have said to be either wanting or obstructive to the happiness of New York; and here I shall not speak of every slight and trivial matter, but only those of more considerable importance, which I count to be six. 1st, The wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants; 2d, want of ministers; 3d, difference of opinion in religion; 4th, a civil dissension; 5th, the heathenism of the Indians; and, 6th, the neighbourhood of Canada: of every one of these I shall say something as shall be most material.

The first is the wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants, which abounds in all parts of the province, and appears in so many shapes, constituting so many sorts of sin, that I can scarce tell which to begin withal. But, as a great reason of and inlet to the rest, I shall first mention the great negligence of divine things that is generally found in most people, of what sect or party soever they pretend to be: their eternal interests are their least concern, and, as if salvation were not a matter of moment, when they have opportunities of serving God they care not for making use thereof; or, if they go to church, 'tis but too often out of curiosity, and to find out faults in him that preacheth rather than to hear their own, or, what is yet worse, to slight and deride where they should be serious. If they have none of those opportunities, they are well contented, and regard it little if there be any who seem otherwise and discontented. Many of them, when they have them, make appear by their actions 'twas but in show; for though at first they will pretend to have a great regard for God's ordinances, and a high esteem for the ministry, whether real or pretended, a little time will plainly evidence that they were more pleased at the novelty than truly affected with the benefit, when they slight that which they before seemingly so much admired, and speak evil of him who before was the subject of their praise and commendation, and that without any other reason than their own fickle temper and envious humour. In a soil so rank as this, no marvel if the Evil One find

a ready entertainment for the seed he is minded to cast in; and from a people so inconstant, and regardless of heaven and holy things, no wonder if God withdraw his grace, and give them up a prey to those temptations which they so industriously seek to embrace: hence is it, therefore, that their natural corruption without check or hinderance is, by frequent acts, improved into habits most evil in the practice, and difficult in the correction.

One of which, and the first I am minded to speak of, is drunkenness, which, though of itself a great sin, is yet aggravated in that it is an occasion of many others. 'Tis in this country a common thing, even for the meanest persons, so soon as the bounty of God has furnished them with a plentiful crop, to turn what they can as soon as may be into money, and that money into drink, at the same time when their family at home have nothing but rags to protect their bodies from the winter's cold; nay if the fruits of their plantations be such as are by their own immediate labour convertible into liquor, such as cider, perry, &c., they have scarce the patience to stay till it is fit for drinking, but, inviting their pot-companions, they all of them, neglecting whatsoever work they are about, set to it together, and give not over till they have drunk it off. And to these sottish engagements they will make nothing to ride ten or twenty miles, and at the conclusion of one debauch another generally is appointed, except their stock of liquor fail them. Nor are the mean and country people only guilty of this vice, but they are equalled, nay surpassed, by many in the city of New York, whose daily practice is to frequent the taverns, and to carouse and game their night employment. This course is the ruin and destruction of many merchants, especially those of the younger sort, who, carrying over with them a stock, whether as factors, or on their own account, spend, even to prodigality, till they find themselves bankrupt ere they are aware.

In a town where this course of life is led by many, 'tis no wonder if there be other vices in vogue, because they are the natural product of it, such are cursing and swearing, to both of which people are here much accustomed; some doing it in that frequent, horrible, and dreadful manner as if they prided themselves both as to the number and invention of them: this, joined with their pro-

fane atheistical and scoffing method of discourse, makes their company extremely uneasy to sober and religious men, who sometimes, by reason of their affairs, cannot help being of their society, and becoming ear-witnesses of their blasphemy and folly. 'Tis strange that men should engage themselves so foolishly, and run into the commission of so great a sin unto which they have no sufficient, often not a pretended, provocation, and from which they reap no advantage nor any real pleasure: and yet we see them even delight in it, and no discourse is thought witty or eloquent except larded with oaths and execrations. Howsoever difficult these sins may be to be corrected in a large and populous kingdom, I should scarce think them so in a province, where the total number of inhabitants will scarce equal the 64,000th (64th) part of those who are computed to be in London; nay, am sure they might be much hindered, were but the good laws made against them put duly in execution.

'Tis an ordinary thing with vices that one of them introduces another, and is a reason of their easy and common success; and so we see it here. That where men drink to so high a pitch, and pamper their debauched palates with the rich and most nourishing viands the country affords, 'tis certain the flesh must grow high and rebellious, so as imperiously to command where it ought to obey; nay, not to be contented without variety, whatsoever obstacle or impediment lies in the way. Reason, that should rule and direct to better things, is so far debauched, that she pretends to defend the contrary; and by objecting the troubles and confinements of a married state, and extolling the sweet and unconfined pleasures of the wandering libertines, prevails with many not to think fornication, nay, not adultery, dangerous sins, but rather to be chosen than lawful wedlock, the proper and really sufficient (though not to debauched and pampered bodies) remedy for the hinderance of these evils. I say it is a proper and sufficient remedy if duly practised, and according to law and reason, which in New York it is not; because,

1st. There are many couples live together without ever being married in any manner of way; many of whom, after they have lived some years so, quarrel, and, thereupon separating, take unto

themselves, either in New York or some other province, new companions; but, grant they do not so, how can such expect that God should bless them together while they live in open contempt of his holy ordinance?

2d. Those who in earnest do intend to be married together are in so much haste, that, commonly, enjoyment precedes the marriage, to which they seldom come till a great belly puts it so forward, that they must either submit to that, or to shame and disgrace which they avoid by marriage; ante-nuptial fornication, where that succeeds, being not looked upon as any scandal or sin at all.

3d. There is no sufficient provision for the marrying of people in this province, the most that are married here being married by justices of the peace, for which there neither is nor can be in New York any law: on this account, many looking upon it as no marriage at all, and being easily induced to think it so when they find themselves pinched by the contract, think it no great matter to divorce themselves, as they term it, and marry to others where they can best, and according to their own liking. Whether this manner of marrying by justices of the peace be a sufficient engagement to the married couple to live together, is to me a matter not disputable; and, in the meanwhile, the scandal and evil that flows from hence is very great: and I myself know at this time a man who fills the place and exercises the office of a minister and school-master in the island of Barbadoes that was married to a woman of New York by a justice of peace, and, after falling out with her, betook himself to another woman, whom he got with child, and went afterwards to Barbadoes, where, if he be not married to her, at least he lives with her as though she were his wife; the woman the meantime continuing in New York, was soon after married to another man.

4th. Supposing the way of marrying were lawful, yet many justices are so ignorant or mean-spirited, or both, that thereby it comes to pass they are often prevailed upon to marry a couple together that are either one or both of them engaged or married to other persons: an eminent instance hereof I knew in New York. A woman, dissolute in manners, not liking to live with her husband, contracted herself to another person, and came with him to a justice of peace to be married. The justice, knowing the woman to be the

wife of another man, refused at first to marry them; but they, understanding he had offended in the like matter before, threatened to acquaint the Governor therewith, if he would not marry them also; which, rather than hazard, he granted their request; thus offending the first time through ignorance, and the second through fear. I came to know of it by this means:—the woman thus married outliving her second husband, had inveigled the son of an honest woman of Nassau Island to marry her, her first husband yet living: his mother, looking upon such a match as his ruin, sought all she could to hinder it, and, as her last refuge, came to me, desiring me to do what I could that he might not have a license out of the Secretary's office, which I obstructed by entering a caveat, and so prevented it for that time; and what is done in it since I cannot tell: but this am sure of, that the too frequent practice of this evil is such as loudly calls for redress and amendment.

The great encouragement for gaining a livelihood that is given to people in this province, where whosoever will take pains may have land enough whereon to raise an estate for themselves and heirs, and the mean accommodations or at least the no great riches, of the first inhabitants, have been the reason that thieving and robbing has been very little practised in this country. But now, of late, since some people are become wealthy enough to purchase and have by them what is worth the taking away, and that the out-parts of the province (where the best land is) towards Canada are so harassed by the French and their Indians, that men are fearful to plant and dwell there, and that people are fallen into so great debauchery and idleness, thieving is become more frequent; and many considerable robberies have been committed in my time in New York, to the great discouragement of industrious people, and increase of vice and sin. There are many other wickednesses which I might speak of as wanting redress, but there is no need of enlarging on their account; for, were these of greater note already spoken of discouraged, the rest would of themselves fall to nothing.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MINISTRY, AND DEFICIENCY THEREIN.

A SECOND and great inconveniency this province suffers under is in relation to a ministry ; for it is most certain, that where there are persons of some repute and authority living, who give good example by their sober lives and conversations, and diligence in their duty, sin is mightily discouraged, and religion and virtue gain ground upon her daily, and increase and flourish ; and that, where there are none such, vice has a free course, and religion continually decays, and, what by the negligence of men, and the malice and subtilty of the enemy of all, goodness runs to ruin. Now, in New York, there are either

1, No ministers at all, that is, of the settled and established religion of the nation, and of such there is not, oftentimes, one in the whole province ; nor at any time, except the Chaplain to his Majesty's forces in New York, that does discharge, or pretend to discharge, the duty of a minister, and, he being but one, cannot do it everywhere ; nay, but in very few places but New York itself ; and being necessitated sometimes to go to England, it happens that both the garrison and city are without a minister a year together. It happens, also, that he is often changed, which is not without its inconveniences, but proves very prejudicial to religion in many cases, as is easy to instance : besides, while he does his duty among them, he shall experience their gratitude but very little, and be sure to meet with a great many discouragements, except, instead of reprehending and correcting, he will connive at and soothe people in their sinful courses.

2, Or secondly, if there be any ministers, they are such as only call themselves so, and are but pretended ministers ; many of them have no orders at all, but set up for themselves of their own head and authority ; or, if they have orders, are Presbyterians, Independents, &c. Now, all these have no other encouragement for the pains they pretend to take than the voluntary contributions of the people, or, at best, a salary by agreement and subscription, which yet they shall not enjoy, except they take more care to please the

humours and delight the fancies of their hearers, than to preach up true religion and a christian life : hence it comes to pass that the people live very loosely, and they themselves very poorly, at best, if they are not forced for very necessity, and by the malice of some of their hearers, to forsake their congregations. Besides being of different persuasions, and striving to settle such sentiments as they indulge themselves in in the hearts of those who are under their ministry, they do more harm, in distracting and dividing the people, than good in the amending their lives and conversations.

3, Or thirdly, if there be, or have been any ministers, and those ministers of the Church of England, they have been here, and are in other provinces, many of them, such as, being of a vicious life and conversation, have played so many vile pranks, and shewn such an ill light, as has been very prejudicial to religion in general, and the Church of England in particular ; or else they have been such as, though sober, yet have been very young, and so, instead of doing good, have been easily drawn into the commission of evil, and become as scandalous as those last mentioned. Now though, as to this last charge, I must not be conceived to speak so much in relation to New York as the other English plantations, because there has been generally, from time to time, but one minister at a time as Chaplain to their Majesties forces there, yet is not New York wholly unconcerned herein, since, there having been several chaplains successive to one another, some have not so carried themselves as to be, and that deservedly, without blame : besides, three that I know of have come by the by, whose either life or knowledge, or both, have not been commendable ; and, as I am informed, there is one there now, and another going from Barbadoes, the former not free from all exception, and the latter lying under very great scandal.

CHAPTER IV.

OF DIFFERENCE IN RELIGION.

THE province of New York being peopled by several nation there are manifold and different opinions of religion among them — as to which, though there are but very few of any sect who are eith

real or intelligent, yet several of the partizans of each sort have every one such a desire of being uppermost, and increasing the number of their own party, that they not only thereby make themselves unhappy by destroying true piety, and setting up instead thereof a fond heat and blind zeal for they know not what, but also industriously obstruct the settlement of the established religion of the nation, which only can make them happy; and have hitherto, either by their craft and cunning, or their money, prospered in their designs; and to do thus they have but too much pretence, from the scandalous lives of some ministers—the matter considered under the former head.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CIVIL DIVISION.

I SHALL, in the fourth place, reckon as not a small unhappiness to the province of New York the division in the civil state happening on this occasion. When his present gracious Majesty came into England to redeem us from Popery and arbitrary power, the news of his success arriving in New England, put some people there upon overturning the government, which they effected: how just their reasons and proceedings were is not my business to inquire, but this action of theirs put the inhabitants of New York upon the like project. Colonel Nicholson, the then Lieutenant Governor, and the council, thought it best to attend orders what they should do from England; and in the meanwhile, the Colonel, to free the people from all jealousies and fears, permitted daily a proportionable part of the city train-bands to have the guard of the fort with the King's soldiers. But Mr. Jacob Leysler, a man of small beginnings, but thence grown a merchant, and about this time decaying in his fortune, and others of his party, were no ways contented with this moderate course proposed, but, pretending fears of being sold or given to the French, and terming all Papists, or popishly affected, who did not favour his designs, seized upon the fort and government too, in the management of which he did many good things; and, if people say truth, was guilty of doing many things that were irregular, and some very bad, as unlawfully im-

prisoning the King's subjects, taking away their goods by force, designing to kill the natural English and all who joined with them, man, woman, and child, &c.; so that when Colonel Slaughter came over in March 1691, he and one Mr. Milburn his son-in-law, who had greatly counselled and assisted him in his designs, were tried for their lives and condemned, and, what is more, hanged, to the great sorrow and regret of their whole party, who have vowed revenge, and, some say, want but an opportunity to effect their purpose. I shall not pretend here to inquire into the real intentions or actions of Leysler's party, or those who were against them, neither into the truth of those things which the one party allege against the other; but only say, that, having considered what I have seen done and heard said on the one side and on the other, I do believe that there were some of either side who sought in what they did their own advantage; many who truly did intend his Majesty's service; and many who blindly followed the leading men, neither considering what they did, nor whether they led them; and that these injuries, done by either side to their opposites, have made a most unhappy division and breach among them, which will hardly of a long time admit of cure, except some very prudent and moderate method be used for that purpose more than has already been put in practice.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE HEATHENISM OF THE INDIANS.

THE next thing in this province blameable is the heathenism of the natural Indians, who here, in the very heart of a Christian country, practise their barbarous and devilish customs and modes of worship, notwithstanding it is now sixty years and more since Christians first inhabited this country, and thirty years since the English were possessed thereof. Indeed, there is something to be said in excuse hereof, that is, the unsettledness of the country for a long time, the several changes of government it has undergone, and the small number of the English at present; and something to be objected, that is, that it would be first reasonable to settle religion

among those who are professed Christians before we pretend to the conversion and settlement of the Indians. To which I answer, that, as what is passed must be excused, since it can't be helped, so, I see no reason in the objection, because a sufficient provision may be made, that one thing may be done and the other not left undone; especially when the Indians are so inclinable to receive the Christian faith, as they have made appear they are, both by that considerable number of the Mohawks whom Dr. Dellius has converted, (though by a method not so exact and prevalent as might be used,) and those Oneides converted to Popery by the jesuit Millet, much to the advantage of the French, who have debauched so many of our Indians as they have made Christians, and obliged, by so doing, some of our Mohawks so much, that one of them, as I have heard, having run away from us to them, and, thereupon, being upbraided with his infidelity in forsaking his old friends, in his own defence made answer, that he had lived long among the English, but they had never all that while had so much love for him as to instruct him in the concerns of his soul, and shew him the way to salvation, which the French had done upon their first acquaintance with him; and, therefore, he was obliged to love and be faithful to them, and engage as many of his nation as he could to go along with him and to partake of the same knowledge and instructions that were afforded and imparted to him, so that it appears to be a work not only of great charity but of almost absolute necessity to endeavour the conversion of the five nations and other Indians, lest they be wholly debauched by the French, and become, by God's just permission, for our neglect therein, of faithful and true friends, as they have been hitherto, most dangerous and cruel enemies.

CHAPTER VII.

OF CANADA.

CANADA, although not in this province, but far distant from it, is yet a great enemy to the peace and happiness of it. First, as it is the reason why the most fruitful part thereof lies at present waste, forsaken by its former inhabitants, and hindered as to its future improvements. Second, as it is the reason why His Majesty and the remainder of this province are at great charges in maintaining Albany and the frontiers against the insults of the French and their Indians. Third, as they debauch our Indians from their fidelity, and instruct them in popery, both which at present are, and hereafter will be, much to the damage of this province: add hereunto that, by the damage they do to the other provinces [of] New England, and are at all times ready to do, they put the king of England and his subjects to a great deal more charge to defend themselves than the king of France, or the jesuits (if it be their country, as some say it is) are at to defend Canada against us, though we are in all more than twenty times their number; besides, the governors of New York that have been from time to time have so often promised our Indians, to encourage them to continue the war, that they would send for ships from England to come and wholly subdue and conquer Canada, that they, seeing they do not come, and that Sir Francis Wheeler, when at Boston, attempted nothing, begin to be discontented, and to charge the governor with breach of promise, and are very wavering in their fidelity and friendship towards the English; so that it appears a matter highly requisite to be endeavoured to conquer and subdue Canada, and that before it grow stronger in fortifications than at present it is; and, indeed, it is a shame it should not be effected, when we so much exceed them in strength in those parts, and when, if it please God to prosper us therein, we shall not only be freed from the charges which at present every province is at, more or less, but Canada may be so settled that it may be a great addition of strength and wealth to the English in America, without being, in a little time, any charge, but rather a benefit to the crown, as by a method to be laid down

for the subduing and re-settlement of it, shall, as I trust, in due time and place appear. And now I have finished the consideration of the province of New York, and of those things therein or relating thereto which, being of greater moment or consequence, are worthy of blame and correction; and shall now lay down the means and method which I conceive proper for the remedying thereof, and thereby of advantaging and improving the country, which I shall do in three chapters: the first treating of the more general means; the second containing a particular method for the conversion of the Indians; and the third proposing a way for the subduing and resettlement of Canada.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MORE GENERAL MEANS FOR CORRECTING THE EVILS IN NEW YORK.

THE great, most proper, and as I conceive effectual, means to remedy and prevent all the disorders I have already mentioned, and promote the settlement and improvement of religion and unity, both among the English subjects that are already Christians and the Indians supposed to be made so, is, that his Majesty will graciously please to send over a bishop to the province of New York, who, if duly qualified, impowered, and settled, may, with the assistance of a small force for the subduing of Canada, by God's grace and blessing be author of great happiness, not only to New York in particular, but to all the English plantations on that part of the continent of America in general. I doubt not but this proposal may, at first sight, seem very strange and unlikely to be effected; but if what follows be duly weighed and considered, I believe it will not appear wholly unreasonable.

It has heretofore been usual in England, when and where the dioceses have been so large that the bishop alone could not suffice for the government thereof, to adjoin to him one or more suffragan bishops, each of which were wont to execute such power, jurisdiction, and authority, and receive such profits as were limited in their commission by the bishop or diocesan whose suffragans they were.

Such an one, I humbly conceive, might be very well sent over to the north-east part of America, to be there and act as suffragan to my Lord of London. To do this, as I doubt not his Majesty's power, so I cannot think my Lord of London will be unwilling; and I am sure the great distance of the country, being 3000 miles from England, the largeness of the provinces considered altogether, and number of the people, with the other particulars already mentioned, do sufficiently require it. In hopes, therefore, that such a proposal as this will meet with good entertainment, or with a charitable and candid construction, at the least, among those who can best promote it, I shall proceed to mention some things which will much conduce to the bishop's better entertainment and success.

And, first, I shall speak of his personal qualifications; second, of the place of his residence; third, of the powers to be committed to him; and, fourth, of the provision to be made for his maintenance.

1.—Among his personal qualifications I must, in the first place, reckon his age, his learning, and his piety, which, being particulars not fit for me to speak of, I shall pass them by, and leave them to the prudent judgment and determination of that pious prelate whose suffragan he is to be. But because I am something acquainted with the humours and inclinations of the inhabitants of that country, I shall make bold to add, that it is requisite he be a person of an obliging temper and conversation, who, having power to compel, will rather persuade and win to obedience by kind acts and generous usage; one whose deportment must vindicate his person and place from contempt, and yet must be, when occasions require, so meek, complaisant, and free, that even the meanest may not have reason to count him proud. One whose generous soul must always aim at good and laudable actions, and whose humility and love to virtue must be so great and real as that he will not think much to submit to low condescensions, inferior means, and continual pains to bring a pious and possible design to perfection: one that can so justly esteem of riches as to think it a necessary care to manage his income well, that he may have wherewithal to forward and encourage a good work, and yet so little affect and love them, as freely to part with them to pious and charitable uses; and, lastly, one that will both constantly practise those eminent notes of true christianity, love and charity.

himself, and promote them among all those who call themselves disciples of the crucified Jesus.

2.—The place of his residence, as I have already intimated, will most properly be in the province and city of New York, for which there are several reasons:—first, the healthfulness of the country, the air being clear and pure, and the climate most agreeable to an English constitution, so that few or none contract diseases on that account, but many are freed from them; second, because a maintenance will be more easily settled for him in this province than in any other, after the manner I shall presently set down; third, because this is the most proper place to begin a reformation of disorders in, which are here greater than any where else, and yet will be more easily regulated; and to settle the government of the church of England, a matter whose foundation being already laid, though at present hindered, will yet, with a little pains, be put into a good forwardness; fourth, for the site of it, this country is as much as may be in the midst of all the other English plantations, so that a bishop being placed therein, his good influences and care will be readily dispensed for the benefit of every part; fifth, because there are already such forces in this province, that is, 300 soldiers in his Majesty's pay, as will be sufficient to awe troublesome and pragmatical spirits, if there be any so bold as to endeavour to make any disturbance upon his going over.

3.—The power and authority requisite for him are these following:—first, that he be consecrated bishop by the archbishop, and duly impowered by my Lord of London, so that he may act as suffragan bishop to him, not only in New York, but also in all the English provinces in that part of America; second, that his Majesty, uniting the provinces of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island into one government, will please to send him over governor thereof, allowing him all the powers and privileges granted usually to the governors of New York, with power also to go out of his province so often as he shall think good to visit the other provinces as bishop only, and to constitute, not only for the time of his absence but if he see necessary at all other times, a lieutenant governor under him.

Note, that this union of the four governments proposed is not of absolute necessity, only of great convenience, so that it may be

omitted (especially if Canada be subdued), and the bishop be made governor of New York only, with the powers and privileges before mentioned.

4.—That a maintenance may not be wanting suitable to his place and the great ends he is to promote, neither for the present nor future, it is requisite,

First, That if his Majesty is pleased to unite the four governments into one, that then he will please also to allow the bishop, as governor thereof, £1500 per annum, out of which a reasonable part or portion shall be paid to the lieutenant governor; or if New York be continued as it is at present, and he sent over as governor thereof only, that then his Majesty will please to allow him £1000 per ann. salary (out of which the lieutenant governor to have a reasonable part), and all the other profits, benefits, and privileges which the present governor of New York enjoys; and also leave and power to search for (if he please) and open royal mines, as of silver, etc., if he can find any such, either in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, or New Jersey, on condition that in so doing he make use of the service of negroes only, and to pay to his Majesty such a proportion of the metal as, the charges and goodness of the ore considered, shall seem reasonable.

Second, That, to make up the abatement of his salary by that part allowed the lieutenant governor, his Majesty will please, so soon as opportunity presents, to give him some considerable preferment in England that does not require his personal residence.

Third, That his Majesty will please to allow him all licenses of marriage and probates of wills, and other things usually belonging to the bishops of England, and at present withheld from my lord of London, and these to be given to himself as bishop, and those who shall be sent after him to serve in that station, now only in the province of New York and its dependencies, but hereafter in the other provinces also, so soon as religion shall come to be fully established therein: these particulars, if granted, will well suffice for a present maintenance; but then we must not neglect to propose a method of providing and settling a future maintenance that may be peculiar to himself as bishop, when he is so only, not constituted governor, as at present he is supposed to be, but when some other gentleman is sent over in that station, that he may

then have wherewithal to maintain his family and keep up hospitality. Besides what [is] already considered, that will then remain to him, these further particulars are necessary to be put in practice:—

1. That his Majesty will please to give him the farm in New York, commonly called the king's farm, for a seat for himself and successors, which, though at present a very ordinary thing, yet will it admit of considerable improvement; and since this farm, renting at present for sixty bushels of wheat per annum, in the whole at four shillings per bushel, amounting to £12 New York money, is at present an advantage to the governor, that I may not seem not to care how much I impoverish the governor so I enrich the bishop, I further propose that the bishop be obliged, when himself is not governor, to render an equivalent to the present rent, either by giving yearly so many loads of hay, or by settling so much land where he please, within two miles of New York, as shall be sufficient for that purpose, or to pay the sum of money itself, which shall be best approved of.

2. That his Majesty will please, by letters patent, to grant him the propriety of the Mohawks land, that is, so much thereof as is now unpurchased of the Indians, on condition that the first improvement he makes thereof shall be to settle in one or two towns, as shall seem best, 100 English families, on 5000 or 6000 acres of good land, the whole to be settled on himself as bishop, and his successors; and, for his encouragement, so to do with all the other land to be improved by him afterwards, as shall be best for the particular benefit and advantage of himself and heirs.

And that the Bishop may be the better furnished for some particular works of charity, such as converting the Indians, building churches, settling houses and a maintenance for ministers, etc., it is further humbly proposed—

1. That his Majesty, the Bishops, and other charitably disposed gentlemen, will please to make some contributions towards building a church in New York.

2. That his Majesty, and my Lord of London, will please to give him the best authority and directions that may be for the obtaining a part of the revenue settled in New England for converting the Indians, such as shall be thought convenient.

3. That his Majesty will please to allow a chaplain to the sol-

diers at Albany in particular (to be paid out of the advance of the pay) who are lately gone over, and to be sometimes changed with him at New York.

4. Lastly, it is necessary that the Bishop carry over with him five or six sober young ministers, with bibles and prayer books, and other things convenient for churches, as shall be thought best.

Whosoever goes over with these powers, qualifications, and supplies, shall in a short time (through God's assistance) be able to make a great progress in the settlement of religion, and the correction of vice and debauchery in those countries; and, to be a little more particular,—

1. To those several vices of irreligion, drunkenness, cursing and swearing, fornication and adultery, thieving, and other evils accompanying them—he may put a stop by causing the good laws of England already made to be put in execution, and by providing others where those seem or are deficient; and also,

2. Which will remedy likewise the second head of inconveniences, want of a ministry, by settling ministers in those towns already provided for by Act of Assembly in some measure, and, as he best can, by supplying them with what is wanting, both for their private necessities and for the public exercise of religion, as allotting to them or purchasing for them glebe lands, promoting the building of churches, ministers' houses, settling schools with salaries, &c. by endeavouring, so soon as may be, to provide for other places which are not provided for by that act, by exhorting, and, where good advice and persuasions will not prevail, by compelling, ministers to live piously and soberly, and give a good example to their flocks.

3. By not suffering any justice of peace to marry in the province within ten miles of the place where any minister dwells, and endeavouring to promote the establishment of the like law in other provinces where it may conveniently be done, by causing the ministers and churchwardens to keep registers of all christenings, burials, and marriages, according as in England is by law appointed, and always to take great care to prevent the marrying of any persons who are either one or both of them already engaged or married to others.

4. And where this is duly taken care of, another inconvenience will be well provided for. Men, although at present of many and

different opinions, yet may be reconciled, in a great measure, by a pious and prudent ministry, who will seek to reduce them by good exhortations, to oblige them by neighbourly and charitable kindnesses, to encourage them by their own practice to live in the fear of God, and in brotherly love and unity one with another.

5. And though this method will greatly help towards the removal of the fourth inconveniency, yet it will not be completed without the assistance of his civil authority; that is, by causing a proclamation, or, if it seem necessary, an Act of Assembly, to be made, prohibiting all people to reproach any person for having been of Leysler's or the contrary party; to vex or sue one another in law for any evils suffered in those times, or since; or to do any thing that may tend to the widening the breach or continuing the remembrance thereof, commanding them to forget things past, and to forgive one another; to live in peace, and to associate together as they did before that division, and as if such a thing had never happened: and by shewing himself indifferent to both parties, encouraging equally those of them who shew themselves honest and virtuous, and truly well affected to his Majesty's interest. Thus may these several inconveniencies already mentioned be well redressed; but as for the conversion of the Indians, and the conquest of Canada, they will require, each of them, a particular chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

OF CONVERTING THE INDIANS.

WHEN I speak of converting the Indians, by Indians I mean, principally, those five nations which lie between Albany and Canada, and are called,—1, Mohawks or Maquaes; 2, Oneides; 3, Chiugas; 4, Onundages; and 5, Penecas: of whom tho' most of the Mohawks are converted to Christianity by Dr. Delliuss, and some of the Oneides by the jesuit Millet; yet the first not being yet established in any good order at all, and the last being converted to popery, I look upon the work as yet wholly to be done; and if what has been already done is not a disadvantage to it, yet that

little advantage is gained thereby, except a demonstration of the inclination of the Indians to embrace the Christian religion. And though I mention only the five nations, yet do I not speak of them so as excluding all other septs and nations of them; no—for I hope this, once performed and brought to a good pass, may be as a groundwork to the conversion of all the rest, as opportunity shall present; yea, possibly may be improved so far as to render this part of the continent truly civilized, speaking the English language, and submitting to his Majesty's government. And to begin,—

First.—That the person who undertakes this work should be a person of great authority, ability, and power, that he may the better persuade with them, and be the more respected, and abler to go through with such a matter, are things of so great advantage, that if they were not things already provided for, do deserve certainly to be put in the first place; but it being proposed that the bishop himself who shall be sent over be the main-spring and mover in this work, I therefore, without saying more thereof, add,

Second.—That when he goes out of England he carry over with him one Dutch and English dictionary, interleaved with white paper; paper of several sorts and in considerable quantity, for writing and printing books thereon; nails, iron, glass, and lead, for the churches and ministers' houses; tools for joiners, carpenters, masons, and glaziers, in such quantities as shall be thought convenient, or at least as the monies given for that purpose will allow.

Third.—That after his arrival there, he, with two other ministers whom he shall best approve of to be his assistants, set to learning that Indian language which is best understood by all the five nations; and for that purpose send for, and entertain in some employment about him, Mr. Arnhout, of Albany, the chief interpreter between the English and the Indians, who will be a great help to him in composing a dictionary, and learning the language; and get an Indian Bible and grammar from Boston, which will be likewise of some advantage to him.

Fourth.—That after he can speak Indian well, and translate elegantly, he then, as opportunity shall best present, call all the five nations together, and endeavour, in a discourse composed for that purpose, to instruct them, and, by the best arguments he can to persuade them to embrace the Christian faith and be baptized

in which if it please God he succeeds, as there is great hopes he may, then—

1st.—To desire of the five nations so many sober young men of each nation as he shall think convenient to live with him some time, and learn to read and write in their own language, and also to speak the English tongue, and read and write in the same; and some others, in number about twelve, to learn the trades of joinery, carpentry, masonry, and glazing; and, in the meantime, while they are learning these things, one of the two ministers shall be appointed to instruct the Indians in Christianity, as may best be done, and to bring over those who do not consent upon the first proposal.

2d.—While the other minister is learning the young Indians to read, etc. himself, with his assistance, may translate, as of the greatest use and necessity, the Common Prayer Book, the thirty-nine Articles, the Whole Duty of Man, and Patrick's Psalms; and then afterwards, as they best may, () Short explanation of the Church Catechism, Dr. Hammond's Catechism, some short preparatory form for receiving the holy communion, a morning and evening Prayer for private persons, and a Primer for children, with a short morning and evening Prayer, and Graces before and after meat; so many copies of each to be printed as shall be thought convenient, and no other book besides them to be translated or printed in the Indian language, especially not the Bible, that the Indians, through a desire to read them, may be stirred up to learn the English language, and so at length may be induced to exchange that for their own; for otherwise, the Indian nations being so many, it will be almost an impossible work to convert them and provide for their civilizing and instruction.

3d.—After the young men can read and write well, and are acquainted with our language, customs, and religious service, the manner and way thereof (in which they, as also those put to trades, are to be inured as much as may be), and admitted to holy orders, then to dispose of them, settling one in every castle, except where two small castles are near to one another, for both which one may well suffice; and, for their better settlement, to cause to be built a church, a minister's house, and large room adjoining to it for a

school, of wood or stone, as shall seem best and cheapest, (in which work the labour of those who learn trades will be very helpful); and after those things are perfected, gathering all the heads of the five nations together, to cause a maintenance by land to be settled for their ministry, that is, the tenth part of their profit or income by hunting, fishing, fowling, etc., and of their corn and other fruits of the earth, with some peculiar advantages upon the account of their being schoolmasters, as it is intended they shall be. Those who are instructed in trades are to live among their countrymen, to teach them their arts; and that they may find employment, they are to be put upon building houses after the English manner, keeping cattle and fowls, ploughing the ground, and imitating the English in their other trades, ways of living, and customs, and one thing after another, that so, by degrees they may leave off their savage ways and become civilized, which, except it can be effected, it will signify but little to plant religion among them; therefore, so many other young sober Indians as shall be thought convenient may be taken in the places of those who are settled as ministers, and taught and instructed after the same manner they were, and put in their places too so soon as fit for it, either when any of them prove debauched, or improve not in knowledge, or neglect their duty (who in that case shall again be under instruction for their amendment or better information), or where any of them prove of eminent parts above the rest, and more sober and religious, who shall then be encouraged and allowed fit helps and instructions for the promoting the conversion of their neighbouring nations, which they may well do with the assistance of an English minister or two and the countenance of the bishop; and so in a few years, if this method be duly prosecuted, all the Indians on this part of the continent may, as 'tis to be hoped, be converted to Christianity; and, when they are civilized, may easily be induced to submit to the English government by the bishop, whom they must needs look upon, respect, and obey as their spiritual father, and one who will, to be sure, advise them as shall be most for their real benefit and welfare. And when they come to such a pass as that way can be made and means settled for arts and sciences to flourish among them, there is no doubt but many of

them will become men of sufficient learning so that they may be instructed in the way of preaching, and have the full government and service of the Church of England settled among them, or acquainted with our laws, so as to be made magistrates, and govern the people by our statutes instead of their own rude and barbarous customs. The first of which when perfected, as it will be a great credit to the Church of England, so will the other be of great advantage to the civil state thereof; and both, I hope, tend to the glory of God and the eternal felicity of immortal souls.

But, till these designs can be fully accomplished, we must be contented to insist upon a method of religion that, though not complete as it should be, is yet such as the beginnings of Christianity among them will bear, and as is proper for weak teachers and ignorant hearers, and that to be this that follows:—

The ministers' duty in general among them is to be this: to pray for them, to read and administer the sacraments to them, to teach their children to read and to write, and speak English and their catechism, and to be thus ordered:

1st. He is to read Common Prayer among them (the lessons out of the Bible excepted) every Sunday and holyday, both morning and evening.

2d. On Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, the third Sunday in September, and on Christmas-day, after Common Prayer read in the morning and a psalm sung, he shall read to the people the thirty-nine articles of religion, and every other Sunday one portion of "The Whole Duty of Man," as they shall fall in order, and, when the whole is read out, shall begin again.

3d. Every first Sunday of the month, and on Good Friday, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Christmas-day, he shall administer the holy sacrament; and then the Sunday preceding such administration, upon notice thereof given, shall be read the exhortation in the Common Prayer-book appointed for that purpose.

4th. Every Sunday in the afternoon, at evening prayer, when the first and second lessons should be read in place thereof, after a psalm set he shall publicly catechise the children; those that are able to read, unto eight years of age, in the Church Catechism, from eight to twelve years of age in () Short explanation thereof, and those from twelve to sixteen years of age in Dr. Hammond's

Catechism, after which they may be admitted to the sacrament. The several catechisms shall be learned by heart by the children at home and at school.

5th. On the working days he shall teach the children to write, and to read, and to speak English; for their reading using a Horn-book, The Primer, the Church Catechism, etc.; for teaching English, to use those and the English translations of them together with the other books, and also a grammar, with familiar dialogues to be composed for that purpose, and the Dictionary.

And by the just and constant observance of this method, there is no doubt but, through God's grace, they may be brought to and continued in a reasonable knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, till such time as, being thoroughly civilized, the whole discipline and government of the Church of England may be settled among them, and also duly practised and observed by them.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE METHOD HOW TO SUBDUE AND RESETTLE CANADA.

I AM now in the last place to speak of the conquest of Canada, that is, how it may be effected—a business in which, though the Bishop is not so much concerned as in the former, especially as to the warlike part, yet may he be more than a cipher, yea, of particular consideration in the settlement of it, if it please God to permit it to be subdued, as in the sequel will appear.

What the strength and condition of Canada is at present is pretty well made evident by the account thereof which I sent over about ten or twelve months ago to the Right Reverend Bishop of London, a copy whereof I also had, which I lost (when I was taken prisoner) with my other papers, and in respect to that it is that this present method is laid down; and though it may be supposed, since that time, to be made rather stronger than become weaker, yet will it not, I think, be able to resist, if courageously invaded and prudently assaulted with the forces, and in the manner hereafter mentioned:—

1st. The first thing then to be done, in order to the conquest of Canada, is to pitch upon a general for the conducting and carrying it on ; the general, then, is to be but one to command all forces, both by sea and land, that are sent or appointed for this purpose : for long experience has taught us, that equal and divided commands have ruined many noble undertakings and great armies. The wise and warlike Romans found this true, and, therefore, in their wars of greatest moment and danger, they generally had recourse to a dictator ; and the success in the late invasion of Martinico has taught us the truth of it, wherein, as I have been credibly informed by impartial and eye-witnesses, the difference between the land and sea generals was the main, if not only, occasion of the miscarriage. As to his prudence, fidelity, experience, conduct, and courage, all great virtues and necessary in a commander, I have no need to speak thereof ; his sacred Majesty, who is to pitch upon and commissionate him, being a most excellent and incomparable judge in those matters.

2d. The second thing to be provided for is forts, and warlike provisions sufficient for such a design, and these to be either sent for [from] England or prepared in America. The forces to be sent from England are proposed to be three ships of war of from forty to sixty guns, well rigged and manned according to their rates, furnished with all warlike provisions necessary for sea-service and maintenance of the men ; as to which there may be six months provision of beer and water, and of beef, pork, oatmeal, peas, and bread, etc., for twelve months, canvass for 4000 or 5000 hammocks, or rather so many hammocks ready made for the forces that are to be raised in America ; and, for the land service, 500 soldiers, well armed and accoutred, young, stout, well exercised, and, so far as may be, unmarried ; twenty pieces of ordnance proper for battering of walls, with sponges, ladles, worms, powder, and bullets, etc., and two or three mortar pieces with granado shells, bombs, carcasses, spades, mattocks, and also powder and ball for the forces to be raised in America, that nothing may be wanting, though the enterprise prove much more difficult than is expected, it being much better to bring back ammunition than to fail in a design for want of it : however, as to the quantities and kinds thereof, I submit to better judgments, and shall only say that it will be a

commendable care to see that the officers, both by sea and land, be such as are truly faithful and loyal to his Majesty. These ships, with all the particulars aforesaid, are to be ready to set sail by the middle, or, at farthest, by the latter end of February next.

The forces to be prepared in America, are to be these and in this proportion following :—New England 2000 men, Connecticut 700, Rhode Island and Martins-vineyard 200, New York 300, New Jersey 300, Pensylvania 300, Maryland 400, Virginia 1000, and Carolina 300, amounting in all to the number of 5500, each man to have in readiness so much powder and ball as shall be judged requisite; and, if it be thought expedient, twenty carriages also may be made in New York for the twenty guns, to be sent over according to measures and directions to be sent likewise for that purpose.

The manner of ordering these forces and materials to be prepared shall be laid down under the next head, which is concerning the secrecy and privacy wherewith these affairs are to be carried on, which ought to be so great that the enemies may not get any foreknowledge of it; for, next to strengthening ourselves, nothing is more necessary than to endeavour to surprise our enemy, which is done, first, by rendering him secure; second, by coming upon him unawares; and, third, by drawing away what strength or provision he already hath, as far as may be, from the place or places against which our designs are chiefly laid, which I conceive may be done by ordering affairs in this manner following :—

1st. To prevent all knowledge, or even suspicion, of what is intended by the provisions made at home and sent over, the ships may be pretended as convoys to the Must fleet, and to the Virginia fleet; and as to the stores put aboard them, it must be done as privately as may be, though, of itself, it be a thing that will not be much suspected, because it has been usual to send over stores to the American plantations, neither will the soldiers be much taken notice of, they being but 500; besides, they may be put on board at Plymouth suddenly, and under pretence of better manning the ships; or, if there goes a squadron of men of war to guard the fleet out of the Channel, it may be pretended that it is to inure them to the sea service; and then they may be disposed of to several other ships, as if they were to come back again therewith after having

seen the fleet out of danger; and at sea they may be put aboard the ships in which they are to go to New York: in short, many ways may be thought of for the concealing the intention of so small a preparation, and that particularly pitched upon which will seem most likely and proper for the time. But, then, besides the orders given to the captains of the ships publicly, and for that purpose, they must likewise have other sealed orders given them very privately, with command not to break them open till a certain time to be appointed, that is, when they come to separate from the fleet, or when the fleet itself comes to separate, or, if they chance to be separated by foul weather, then to break open those orders wherein it shall be appointed them what port to go to, that is, New York; what commander to obey, that is the same who is made general of the land forces; how long to stay, that is, either till the design is effected, or till the coming out of some fleet according as the governor of the province where they are shall judge best for his Majesty's service; or if there be a great necessity and the ships proper, they may be sent out to cruise for privateers, or they may be ordered to visit Newfoundland by the way. One thing seems here proper to be mentioned, that is, that when these orders are opened, and the soldiers come to have some knowledge where they are going, their pay may be paid them till such time as they came aboard, and further advantages promised them for their encouragement.

It will not be amiss, if two French ministers, that are in orders of the Church of England, be sent over with these ships, for, if it please God the design prosper, there will be occasion for them.

2. For the more private carrying on of the design as to the forces prepared in the West Indies, it is convenient not to let it be so much as known to any person there (except that his Majesty shall please to communicate it to any of the governors) what is the true cause of raising the forces ordered to be raised, and that may be done thus: It is now, while I am writing this, certain, that the French have a design upon the merchants trading on the coast of Guinea, and those trading into the West Indies. In order to the carrying on of the first, they are fitting out at St. Maloes four privateers, of from forty to fifty guns, and Monsieur de Gatine, commissary there, sent for one Captain — Piles, and Henry Pinson his mate, both taken on board a small Guineaman, and having good knowledge of the coast and

trade, and present condition of affairs there, to examine them concerning the same. And in order to the carrying on of the last, the English prisoners that came about four days ago, that is, October the 6th, last past, from Nants, do assure us, that the French are there fitting out seventeen privateers of from twenty-five and thirty to forty guns, whereof twelve are already rigged and fitted, to be manned in part with English, Scotch, and Irish, and to be sent to the West Indies, to interrupt and spoil our trade, and make prize of our merchantmen there. Hereupon occasion may be very well taken, and letters ordered to be written and sent with duplicates thereof by ships in December next ensuing, or the beginning of January, to every one of his Majesty's governors, and also to those of the proprietors, wherein to be signified to each of them, that there is certain intelligence from France of their fitting out divers ships of war, twenty or more, and that they are intended against our plantations in America. That, therefore, it is his Majesty's strict charge and command, that every one of them cause to be armed, in their several provinces, such a number of their choicest men as shall, by one, two, or three hundred, exceed the number before set down, and to meet at their chief port town by the 1st of April, and there to see that they be well armed, and every man provided with a proportion of powder and ball, to be appointed and to exercise them daily till further order; and, in the meantime, to see that whatsoever of his Majesty's ships are in their several ports, be cleaned and fitted for sea, so as to be ready to sail with the first order; and also to fit and prepare a sufficient number of good ships and sloops, and provisions of bread, beef, beer, pork, and peas, etc. for six months, in case there be occasion to transport the soldiers from their province to any other where it shall appear the enemy does chiefly intend his invasion, of which warning may be promised them by an express so soon as there shall be certain notice thereof.

And over and above this, orders may be sent to the Governor of New York, in particular, to make the twenty carriages as before; and to cause to attend at New York, from the 1st of April till further order, Robert Sanders of Albany, and five others that can give the latest and truest account of the present state and condition of Canada, without letting them know what

they are caused to wait for, but only, in general, that it is for his Majesty's service; and that they shall be paid for the loss of their time, or else they may be kept under arms as men of special service and courage, which shall seem best to him, for concealing the true reason of their attendance. As for the carriages, he may pretend for the making thereof, that he has notice of so many guns of such a sort or bigness coming over, and order to have carriages for them in as much readiness as may be; that so soon as he has them they may be presently fitted for use, and planted where he shall think most convenient.

There may likewise with these, other orders be sent him, not to be broken open till the 1st of April, wherein it may be signified unto him that his Majesty, looking upon the French preparations as intended against New York, would send some ships of war over to his assistance, but that he immediately endeavour to stop any intelligence thereof from going to Canada. That he also send the several orders therein inclosed to the governors of the several provinces, to cause them forthwith to send away the exact number of forces chosen out of those armed and exercised according to former order, to the port of New York, he in the meanwhile to make all the preparation he can of victuals and lodging to entertain them, and, when they shall be arrived, to see they be well armed, and to exercise them, and acquaint them with the way of camping and engaging, till such time as the ships, and a commander-in-chief with them, shall come.

Again, to divert the enemy from the care of those places against which this design is chiefly laid, that is Quebeck, and their other places of greatest strength, a third order must yet be sent to the Governor of New York, appointing him to raise the Indians of the five nations, and to join with them 200 of the garrison and forces about Albany, 200 from New England, and 100 from Connecticut (for the obtaining whereof orders are also to be sent him by the first ships), and to have them ready, so that on the 1st of May they may be ready to march towards Canada; and there, by endeavouring, or pretending to endeavour, something that shall tend notably to the advantage of our party and the disadvantage of the French, as the fortifying and settling Cadaraque, or, seizing on some French garrison, to draw down the Governor of Canada and his forces towards them, but to take great care to keep in places

of security, and not to be too active, but only while away the time, and delude the enemy, unless he sees he can gain a considerable advantage without any great hazard of his men.

Lastly, the commander-in-chief sent from England is to receive his commission for this service privately from his Majesty, wherein to be appointed commander-in-chief of all the aforesaid forces by sea and land, as well those on Albany side as those which are to be transported by sea to Canada, with orders to sail directly for New York; and there, embarking his forces, with all possible speed, to make the best of his way for Canada, to prevent as much as he can any notice the enemy may have of his coming, and with instructions to make use of the foresaid Sanders and the others, appointed to give him information of the country and places of landing and advantages; to keep his soldiers from plundering, deflowering women, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, and all other debauchery; to proceed prudently, courageously, and valiantly, in the endeavouring to conquer Canada, till such time as it is thoroughly subdued, and then to return as shall be ordered and directed by his Majesty. There are other things to be added to his instructions in case he succeeds, which you will find couched among what follows.

In case, then, that this design succeed, his Majesty may please to appoint the bishop proposed to be sent over governor of New York, to be also governor of Canada, and every part and place thereof, as it shall come to be subdued, with power to constitute a lieutenant-governor thereof at his discretion, till such time as his Majesty's pleasure is further known; with power also, to appoint and order all matters ecclesiastical, and civil, as shall be best for the setting that province in the possession of the English.

Orders and instructions to be given, both to the bishop as governor, and to the commander-in-chief, may [be] these:—

1.—That special and constant care be taken that the soldiers and seamen straggle not from the camp, nor plunder the country, burn houses, or destroy the corn, either growing or in the barn, nor the cattle of what sort soever, but that they preserve all things as in a country which it is hoped may come through God's assistance to be their own; and, therefore,

2.—All provisions, of what sort or nature soever, whether for man or beast, are to be secured for and given notice of to the

governor and commander-in-chief, or either of them, that they may appoint what quantities thereof shall be sufficient for the maintenance of the army, or the prisoners, or victualling the ships for their voyage homeward.

3.—All prisoners are to belong to the King (slaves only excepted), to be civilly treated and used, and to be disposed of as the governor shall appoint, which may be after this or the like manner:—those who are of best quality, with the priests and other religious persons, to be sent home to England by the ships of war; two hundred families of husbandmen that are willing to stay, to be left and settled upon reasonable and encouragable terms, as tenants to those gentlemen and others to whom lands shall be given; three hundred or four hundred families more to be appointed for New York, where, if they are willing, they may be encouraged by the bishop to settle on vacant land, and in time may be converted to Protestantism by French ministers sent over for that purpose, and obliged to learn and use the English tongue and religion, and all the rest may be divided proportionably to each province, to be carried thither in the ships belonging thereto, where they may be encouraged to settle if they will, and, if it be thought for the weal of the province to encourage them, or otherwise to be sent prisoners to England in merchant ships, as opportunity shall present.

4.—All the ships taken in the voyage thither, or in port there, to be condemned in the first English port they come to, and to be disposed of by the governor there, as is appointed by law in such cases. And all towns, forts, castles, houses, instruments of husbandry, as ploughs, carts, harrows, etc.—and working cattle, as horses, oxen, asses—and all warlike provisions, as great guns, small arms, powder, ball, swords, bagonets, etc., and the whole country, improved, or unimproved, to belong to the King, and to be disposed of by the governor as shall be best for his Majesty's interest and advantage, and encouraging there settlement of the province, except as in the article following.

5.—All things belonging to religion and ecclesiastics, as churches, monasteries, nunneries, with the grounds and estates belonging to them, as also the money, plate, books, and all things in them and belonging to them, as horses, cows, sheep, instruments of husbandry, household stuff, and also the books found any where in

other houses, to be given to pious uses, and to be disposed of by the bishop, and settled as shall seem to him best for the encouragement of religion in Canada, New York, or elsewhere, in any other of the English provinces; only to be excepted, that if there be any goods or chattels, whether money, plate, household stuff, or other things proved not to belong unto religious persons or uses, but put there only for concealment and security, etc., they are, in that case, to be delivered up, and ordered by the bishop to be laid to the common spoil, and, as such, to be divided with the rest among the soldiers.

6.—All other goods, not before excepted, whether money, plate, slaves, household stuff, or merchandize, etc., shall be gathered together and divided between the officers and soldiers, as is usual to be done in such cases; in which division the governor shall have an equal share with the commander-in-chief, and the rest according to their proportion. And, for the better and more equal division, it shall be appointed, 1st, That all men concerned in the service, seamen or soldiers, shall have part of the spoil without being defrauded or cozened thereof. 2d, That the Indian goods, as duffels, shirts, knives, hatchets, etc., be particularly set apart to be given to our Indians as their part of the prey, and, if there be any over-plus thereof, it shall be given to those who shall remain in the country to trade therewith, either with our own Indians or those of Canada, who, if they will submit quietly, shall not be suffered to be prisoners to our Indians, but reckoned friends to us, as at present they are to the French. 3d, That every man, of what rank or quality soever, shall be bound to deliver up to the common heap all the spoil he shall get of what nature soever; and that whatsoever they shall find in houses or any other place which they cannot bring away, they shall not spoil it, but leave it undamaged for the benefit of those who shall afterwards come to settle there; and that whosoever shall offend in either of these particulars shall, by so doing, forfeit his part of the spoil, and be otherwise punished as the commander-in-chief shall think fit.

7.—All the arms and warlike stores taken from the French to be carefully gathered together, and laid up in the fort of Quebeck, and other convenient places, and there kept in good order and condition, so as to be at all times ready for use. All places of

strength and great advantage, and disabled in the taking, or any ways in need to be better fortified, shall be duly taken care of and fortified in the best manner that may be, and furnished with great guns and stores convenient for the defence thereof: for which purpose the guns and mortar-pieces carried over, together with any taken by the way, or in harbour there, or on land, with sufficient quantities of powder, ball, etc. shall be left there, to be disposed of in each garrison as shall seem necessary.

For the resettlement of this province the governor may—

1.—Appoint a house and land and other conveniences for the bishop, and houses, lands, etc. for the ministers out of those belonging before to and set apart for that use, with schools, a library, etc. as best may be done.

2.—Dispose of the lands, houses, instruments of husbandry, etc. on such terms and with such provisions as shall be reasonable and proper for the King's profit, the landlord's advantage, the tenant's encouragement, and the clergy's maintenance; and that, first, to those of the soldiery from England, who, being married, will settle there and send for their wives over; and, second, to those who being unmarried, and of those soldiers or of the forces come from any of the neighbouring provinces, and desirous to settle and marry there any of the French maids or widows (such as they can prevail with), to every man according to his quality, place, and merit, and as shall seem best to the governor.

3.—Send to England, desiring encouragement may be given to the French Protestants to come over and settle there with their families, which it is believed many of them will willingly do, if they be assured to have lands, houses, etc. given to them on reasonable terms, as it is intended they shall. And this is the method which I promised to lay down as proper for the subduing and resettlement of Canada; which, if it be not so complete as it ought to be, or not likely to be so effectual as I hoped it might, in the judgment of understanding persons, if yet it will serve but as the first lines of a draught, or a motive only to able heads to do better, I shall not only be contented, but very glad, and not think that I have lost my labour.

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
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